

Relativization Strategies of Sasak Ngeno Ngene Dialect in Lombok

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Abstract

Relative clauses (RC), in whatever the languages, are essential for investigation especially on how noun phrases as nuclear and oblique relations are workable in Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. In this paper, *Relativization Strategies of Sasak Ngeno-Ngene Dialect in Lombok* is presented with the aims are (1) describing the ability of these relations in direct relativization, (2) analyzing the strategies used when indirect relativization occurs, and (3) formulating the right orderings of these relations in the hierarchy. The data on relativization strategies were taken by elicitations, an interview with some informants and documentation of the previous related studies. Then, a careful analysis was made with reference to common linguistic typological approach. The results of this study showed that: (1) gap strategy underlines direct relativization for S (subject) of SVO, O (object) of OVS and OBL of destination, (2) case-coding strategy is preferred by OBL of locative, and (3) passivization strategy is suitable for all indirect relativizations for O (object) of SVO and OBL of benefactive, recipient, and instrumental. The hierarchy of nuclear and oblique relations were formulated: S (SVO) > O (OVS) > OBL (DES > LOC) in direct relativization. Conversely, the hierarchy of O (SVO) > OBL (BEN > RECIP > INST) is shown in indirect relativization.

Keywords

relativization
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case-coding strategy

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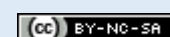
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Relativization Strategies of Sasak *Ngeno Ngene* Dialect in Lombok

In Linguistic typology, relative clauses (RCs) are essential for investigation on how noun phrases as nuclear and oblique relations are workable in [Keenan & Comrie's](#) (1977) Noun Phrase (NP) Accessibility Hierarchy. [Comrie](#) (1992) mentioned two types of relative clauses: restrictive and non-restrictive. The first illustrates the presence of a relative marker right after a noun phrase in a clause as in *the boy who walked alone in the rain was my grandson*. The second shows a relative marker directly after a comma in *the girl, whom I saw in the rain alone, was my neighbor*. Here, the markers *who* for S (subject) and *whom* for O (object) are performed in two different contexts of situation. Amongst the two RCs, a restrictive clause is more accessible for NP analysis in the hierarchy.

The NP Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) can be described as follows:

[1] SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > O COMP

where > means 'is more accessible than'. SU stands for Subject, DO Direct Object, IO Indirect Object, OBL Oblique, GEN Genitive, and O COM stands for Object of Comparison. [Keenan & Comrie](#) (1977) highlighted the positions of NP at the top of the AH that are universally accessible to relativization. Example [2] demonstrates this.

[2] a. Jack hit Crocodile Dundee [main clause]
b. Jack *who* hit Crocodile Dundee
c. Crocodile Dundee *whom* Jack hit

Example [2a] bears two argument NPs *Jack* and *Crocodile Dundee* with respective functions as S (subject) and O (object). In [2b], the relative marker *who* is used to relativize S, whereas in [2c], *whom* signals O relativization. It is then concluded that English is a perfect language for direct relativization simply because their NPs are accessible to all positions in the AH.

[Comrie](#) (1992) argues not all languages behaving like English in relativizing their argument NPs. He saw some obstacles for many of them. Indonesian [3b] which confines O in direct relativization is one example. Note that in the next explanation, glosses S and O are used to replace SU and DO (see Hanafi [2001](#); [2019](#)).

[3] a. Kasino mencium adik-ku [main clause]
Kasino ACT.kiss sister-1SG.POSS
'Kasino kissed my sister'

b. *Adik=ku yang Kasino mencium
sister-1SG.POSS whom Kasino ACT.kiss
'My sister whom Kasino kissed'

Based on linguistic features, several strategies are employed to fulfill NP relativizations. [Givon](#) (1990) introduced a *gap strategy* for languages having strict word-orders. This strategy takes place in direct relativization. English examples [4b]-[4d] show this:

Critics over Keenan & Comrie's RC theory on the AH was delivered by [Shibatani](#) (2008). He rejected the claim that S is more accessible than other nuclear relations by giving some evidence on Sasak and Sumbawa RCs whose Topic in these languages is more accessible to relativization than S, like in some other Austronesian languages.

This paper reports on *Relativization Strategies of Sasak Ngeno-Ngene Dialect in Lombok* with the aims as follows: (1) describing the ability of nuclear and OBL relations in direct relativization within the AH, (2) analyzing the strategy patterns when indirect relativization occurs, and (3) reformulating the orderings of these relations in the AH. The reason for choosing Ngeno-Ngene dialect here is that it is the largest in Lombok, supported by approximately 1.153.773 people in East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara ([NTB BPS.GO.ID](#) 2019). It is outstanding in its role, amongst others, as a medium of teaching Indonesian to young learners and is widely spoken by the majority of Sasak people of different dialects ([Ahmadi](#), 1996). This dialect has two word-orders: SVO and OVS. The latter is syntactically ergative ([Artawa](#), 1994; [Hanafi & Udin](#), 2016).

Method

This research is qualitatively descriptive. It describes the phenomena of relativization strategies of Ngeno-Ngene Dialect in East Lombok. The data were collected from elicitations, interviews, and documentation of the previous research. The elicitations were done to get the real data and interviews with some informants were used to cross-check the data. Other data from documentation of the previous related study were taken for secondary data. Finally, a careful analysis was conducted with reference to the common linguistic typological approach. This approach provides guidelines for identifying patterns in the study of any language and allows description for many syntactic, morphological and phonological phenomena as well ([Lehmann](#) 1978).

Results

The results of relativization strategies on nuclear and oblique relations in Sasak Ngeno Ngene Dialect are presented in Table 1. Three types of strategies occur in direct relativization: (a) gap strategy is for S (SVO), O (OVS) and OBL of destination, and (b) case-coding strategy is for OBL of locative. Conversely, indirect relativization involves the use of (a) passivization strategy for O (SVO), OBL of benefactive, recipient and instrumental.

Table 1.
Relativization Strategies of Sasak Ngeno-Ngene Dialect

		Nuclear & Oblique Relations	Types of Strategy
No 1	Direct Relativization	S (SVO)	Gap
		O (OVS)	Gap
		OBL: Locative	Case-coding
		OBL: Destination	Gap

		Nuclear & Oblique Relations	Types of Strategy
No 2	Indirect Relativization	O (SVO)	Passivization
		OBL: Benefactive	Passivization
		OBL: Recipient	Passivization
		OBL: Instrumental	Passivization

Concerning the reformulation orderings of NPs in the hierarchy, we can say that in (1) direct relativization yields: S (SVO) > O (OVS) > OBL: DES > LOC, whereas in (2) indirect relativization generates: O (OVS) > OBL: BEN > RECIP > INST. The relativization strategies of Ngeno-Ngene dialect in two types of relativization are reviewed in discussion section.

Discussion

Direct relativization

The following are some nuclear and OBL relations in direct relativization as follows: S, O, OBL of locative and destination.

S relativization (SVO)

Example [9a] is the main clause whose core argument NPs are S *kanak* 'kid' and O *panaq* 'arrow' joined by the main verb *singgaq* 'borrow'. This verb is morphologically unmarked. In S direct relativization [9b], a relative marker *siq* and a gap strategy *are* used to signal it. On the other hand, the direct relativization of O, which has been previously promoted to the initial position as a grammatical S in the clause, cannot undergo relativization. This is exhibited in [9c] with an asterisk (*).

- [9] a. Kanaq singgaq panaq no [main clause]
 kid borrow arrow DEF
 'The kid borrowed the arrow'
- b. Kanaq siq singgaq panaq no
 kid REL borrow arrow DEF
 'The kid who borrowed the arrow'
- c. *Panaq siq singgaq kanak no
 arrow REL borrow kid DEF
 'The arrow that the kid borrowed'

O relativization (OVS)

In SVO languages, S is more accessible than other core relations in the hierarchy as in [9b]. In OVS languages, however, O is more accessible than others. Consider example [10] from [Lutfa \(2003: 30\)](#).

- Clause [10a] shows S *Pepatih* and O *DDR* respectively as post and preverbal argument NPs. In this context, the main verb *iring* 'guard' is unmarked (basic). The process of relativizing O in [10b] is morphologically marked with *sig* and the gap strategy allows such a direct relativization. Conversely, [10c] is ill-formed for S relativization.

Example [11a] is the main clause of one-place verb construction. It presents the sole argument NP *ite* 'we' and *Gedung Abubakar* as locative OBL preceded by a preposition *leq* right after the intransitive verb *merariq* 'marry'. Example [11b] displays the promotion of locative OBL to grammatical S in the clause. The locative OBL – S promotion results in the change form of initial S *ite* into a pronominal clitic = *ne* and the deletion of *leq* in the clause. This enclitic = *ne* assigns with the locative marker *taoq*. In [11c], the case-coding strategy is taken for the direct relativization of initial locative OBL. This process is registered by the presence of *siq*.

- ### ***Relativization of destination***

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[12b]. The process of direct relativization is realized by the gap strategy and the presence of *siq*. Example [12c] exhibits this.

[12] a. Aku lalo aning Sintung ino rubin [main clause]
 1SG go PREP Sintung DEF yesterday
 'I went to the Sintung yesterday'

b. Sintung ino aning=ku lalo rubin
 Sintung DEF PREP=1SG go yesterday
 'The Sintung, I went to yesterday'

c. Sintung ino siq aning=ku lalo rubin
 Sintung DEF REL PREP=1SG go yesterday
 'The Sintung where I went to yesterday'

Indirect relativization

Some nuclear and OBL relations of SVO presented in this relativization. They are O, OBL of benefactive, recipient and instrumental.

O relativization (SVO)

The main clause in [13a] is two place-verb construction. It carries the preverbal NP *Juki* as S and the postverbal NP *acong* 'dog' as O, and the verb *mantoq* 'hit' is nasal. In the process of O relativization, it has to be firstly promoted to grammatical S in the passive clause and the initial S demotes to pronominal clitic = *ne* (3SG) on the verb. This enclitic = *ne* co-occurs with *Juki*. In this revaluation, the passive verb is marked with *te-* prefix and *isiq Juki* behaves like an agentive adjunct [13b]. In the second process, the initial O, which is now taking the position of grammatical S in the passive, undergoes relativization signaled by *siq* 'that'. In short, [13] takes *the* passivization strategy for O relativization.

[13] a. Juki mantoq acong [main clause]
 Juki ACT.hit dog
 'Juki hit a dog'

b. Acong te-pantoq=ne (isiq Juki)
 dog PASS-hit=3SG (by Juki)
 'The dog was hit by Juki'

c. Acong siq te-pantoq=ne (isiq Juki)
 dog REL PASS-hit=3SG (by Juki)
 'The dog that was hit by Juki'

Benefactive relativization (SVO)

A quasi-applicative is used to explicate the process of benefactive relativization. Accordingly, the quasi-applicative occurs when the underlying transitive clause whose oblique relation is absent as in [14a] *Inaq miyaq jaje*. When [14a] undergoes applicativeness in [14b], the verb *miyaq* ‘make’ receives = *ang* suffix (gloss APPL) as an applicative marker to denote “a process of valency mechanism to add an argument of a verb” (Spencer 1995). The addition of an argument NP is realized by the presence of *Loq Bahrum* as an O before *jaje* ‘cake’ in the clause. So [14b] is a form of a *quasi – applicative* proposed by Dixon (2012).

Benefactive OBL relativization takes place in two ways. First, *Loq Bahrum* is promoted to grammatical S position in the passive and the initial S *Inaq* becomes an agentive adjunct [14c]. The passivization process such as this is signaled by *te=* prefix (gloss PASS) on the verb and followed by *isiq* phrase. Second, benefactive OBL may undergo relativization in [14d] in which *siq* as a relative marker precedes the passive verb *tepiyaqang*. In this context, the benefactive OBL takes a passivization strategy for indirect relativization. Consider example [14] below.

- [14] a. Inaq miyaq jaje [main clause]
 mother ACT.make cake
 ‘My mother made (some) cakes’
- b. Inaq miyaq-ang Loq Bahrum jaje
 mother ACT.make-APPL Loq Bahrum cake
 ‘My mother made Loq Bahrum (some) cakes’
- c. Loq Bahrum te-piyaq-ang (isiq) inaq jaje
 Loq Bahrum PASS-make-APPL by mother cake
 ‘Loq Bahrum my mother made some cakes for’
- d. Loq Bahrum siq te-piyaq-ang (isiq) inaq jaje
 Loq Bahrum REL PASS-make-APPL by mother cake
 ‘Loq Bahrum whom my mother made some cakes for’

Recipient relativization (SVO)

Identical with the benefactive OBL relativization above, example [15a] is the basic construction with two argument NPs *Allah* and *kesehatan* respectively as S and O. When [15a] undergoes applicative process as in [15b], there exists *ite* ‘we’ before *kesehatan* ‘health’. Although, the verb *ngican* is morphologically unmarked APPL, yet [15b] is a form of *quasi – applicative* as Dixon (2012) suggests.

Recipient OBL relativization occurs in two ways. First, *Ite* [15b] should be promoted to grammatical S in the passive which results in the demotion of the initial S to *isiq* phrase (agentive adjunct) and the verb *ngican* ‘grant’ is signaled with *te-* prefix as a passive marker (gloss PASS) morphologically unmarked and the deletion of *timpaq* occurs in [15b]. Second, recipient OBL may undergo relativization in [15d] whose relative marker *siq* precedes the

passive verb *te-ican*. In short, the recipient OBL retains a passivization strategy in its indirect relativization. Consider example [15] below.

- [15] a. Allah ngican kesehatan [main clause]
 Allah ACT.grant health
 'Allah granted health'
- b. Allah ngican ite kesehatan
 Allah ACT.grant.APPL 3PL health
 'Allah granted us with health'
- c. Ite te-ican kesehatan isiq Allah
 3PL PASS-grant.APPL health by Allah
 'We were granted by Allah with health'
- d. Ite siq te-ican kesehatan isiq Allah
 3SG REL PASS-grant.APP health by Allah
 'It is us that Allah granted with health'

Instrumental relativization (SVO)

Clause [16a] is the underlying three-place verb construction of [16b]. In [16a], the S *maling* 'thief' is marked with *sino* as a definite marker (gloss DEF) and the O *balen=k* is post-verbally attached by enclitic *=k* (gloss 1SG.POSS) and then followed by a PP *ngadu batu* 'with stones' as an instrumental OBL. In [16b], there is a promotion of instrumental OBL to the beginning of the clause results in the demotion of the initial S *maling* into O position which is indexed by suffix *=ang* as a passive marker on the verb *ampes* 'throw'. The original O *balen=k* also demotes to an OBL position denoted by a preposition *tipaq* 'to'. [16c] illustrates a relative marker *siq* in the process of relativizing the instrumental OBL and the passivization strategy is adopted for indirect relativization.

- [16] a. Maling sino ngampes balen=k ngadu batu [main clause]
 Thief DEF ACT.throw house=1SG.POSS with stone
 'The thief threw my house with some stones'
- b. Batu ampes-ang maling sino tipaq balen=k
 stone throw-PASS thief DEF to house=1SG.POSS
 'Some stones were thrown by the thief to my house'
- c. Batu siq ampes-ang maling sino tipaq balen=k
 stone REL throw-PASS thief DEF to house=1SG.POSS
 'Some stones that were used by the thief to throw my house'

Conclusion

In conclusion, two types of relativizations in RCs of Sasak *Ngeno-Ngene* Dialect were found. They are interrelated with the strategies used in relativization. Direct relativization accommodates the use of gap and case-coding strategies triggered by the behaviors of two core argument NPs (S and O), locative OBL and destination OBL. In contrast, indirect relativization allows the application of the passivization strategy because of the obstacles in the direct relativization process. Thus, O and OBL of benefactive, recipient and instrumental belong to this group. It is interesting to note that quasi-applicatives in *Ngeno-Ngene* Dialect are without underlying clauses for benefactive and recipient OBLs and the applicative verbs are morphologically marked or unmarked APPL. Further research on Sasak quasi-applicatives are encouraged.

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Abbreviations

ACT	= active marker
AH	= Accessibility Hierarchy
APPL	= applicative
BEN	= benefactive
DEF	= definite marker
DES	= destination
DO/O	= direct object/object
GEN	= genitive
INST	= instrumental
LOC	= locative
NOM	= nominative
NP	= noun phrase
OBL	= oblique
OVS	= object-verb-subject
PASS	= passive marker
RC	= relative clause
RECIP	= recipient
REL	= relative marker
SVO	= subject-verb-object
SU/S	= subject
1SG	= first person singular
1SG.POSS	= first person singular possessive
1PL	= first person plural
3SG	= third person singular
3PL	= third person plural